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editione, dum saepius retractat, inveniet aut dignum, dum id ipsum experitur, efficiet.

But I now beg of you, not only to take a view of it in the whole, but distinctly to criticize it, with your usual exactness, in all its parts. When you have corrected it, I shall still be at liberty either to publish or suppress it. The delay in the meantime will be attended with one of these advantages, that while we are deliberating whether it is fit for the public view, a frequent revision will either make it so, or convince me that it is not.

Is this a *translation* in the style of any century, eighteenth or twentieth? Will any one who, to understand the Latin, needs a translation, derive any real help in his efforts, from this version? To raise this question I have deliberately refrained from citing the many instances in which the Latin has been completely misrepresented.

C. K.

## A STUDY OF DIETETICS AMONG THE ROMANS

(Concluded from page 61)

The use of food substitutes was also known to the Romans. Indeed, if we may trust the comic poets, this art was not an unfamiliar one to the Greeks. For in Euphron<sup>43</sup> one reads the story of a clever chef, Soterides, who deceived a king by his cooking. The season was winter, the sea far away, but the king of Bithynia was seized by a longing for anchovies. Soterides prepared and cooked turnips in such a way as to imitate the desired dainties, and so quenched the king's passion for fish. The more or less rigid regulations of the sumptuary laws must have started the custom of food substitutes at an early day at Rome, for these laws not only forbade the use of certain articles of diet, but also made the prices of other foods prohibitive, by setting a high value on dainties which were specially prized. If certain articles of diet were difficult to procure for certain occasions, were highly taxed or forbidden by law, one must find something to take their place. Moreover, the thing prohibited always becomes the thing desired; hence one must prevail on one's cook to prepare a dish which would resemble as closely as possible the forbidden dainties. We have Cicero<sup>44</sup> as our authority for the fact that as early as his day Roman cooks were fully capable of supplying Hoover recipes. In a letter to a friend, Cicero says that he has been ill for several days from partaking at dinner of vegetables which his host had had prepared instead of meat, in order not to contravene a recent sumptuary law. These had been so highly seasoned, and so palatable, that Cicero, who was very cautious when mushrooms or oysters were set before him, had been tempted to indulge his appetite too greatly. He concludes the letter by saying, *Ego, qui muraenis facile abstinebam, a beta et a malva deceptus sum*. Posthac igitur erimus cautiōres. Martial<sup>45</sup> tells the story of a Roman cook, Caecilius, who was able to metamorphose a product of the garden in such a way that from it he supplied the material for the first and second courses,

and for the dessert as well. Then there is the story of Trimalchio's cook, Daedalus<sup>46</sup>, who was such a wonder-worker that he served on his master's table a dish which at first sight resembled a fat goose surrounded by fish and fowl of all sorts, but all these dainties were cunningly devised from a pig. No doubt this skilful cook could have prepared the same things from the products of the garden if he had cared to do so.

In the present scarcity of sugar, it is interesting, at least, to remember that the Romans used honey for sweetening wine, making cake, and for all other purposes for which we commonly employ sugar. Apicius<sup>47</sup> says that meat may be kept fresh as long as one wishes by covering it with honey. With this device for preserving meat may be compared our own sugarcured hams. Martial<sup>48</sup> offers a substitute for meat. His suggestion is that if one wishes to breakfast economically without the use of meat cheese is excellent.

Even war breads are no new thing. In The Classical Journal 13.527 Professor M. E. Deutsch, of the University of California, calls our attention to the fact that in 48 B. C.<sup>49</sup>, during the Civil War with Pompey, Caesar's supply of wheat gave out and hunger pressed hard on his men. Not only did the soldiers accept barley and legumes as substitutes<sup>50</sup>, but they even made bread from an edible root which they discovered<sup>51</sup>.

The purpose of food substitutes on the occasion just mentioned was decidedly practical and patriotic. On other occasions it was to avoid the tax legislation of the sumptuary laws, which placed a high price on certain articles of food. The aim was often to provide imitations of delicacies which were forbidden by these laws, or were difficult to obtain on account of the season, or distance from Rome. Sometimes the purpose of food substitutes may have been merely to glorify the cook's art. This seems to have been the case in the story of Trimalchio's cook.

The more practical of the Romans aimed at the conservation of food. The Apicius, *De Re Coquinaria*, offers numerous recipes for preserving meat and fish, and for putting up fruit and vegetables of all kinds. Cato<sup>52</sup> says that the housekeeper should diligently put up fruits of all varieties each year. He says also<sup>53</sup>, 'Save the wind-fall olives as relishes for the servants', and again, 'Be careful to make the olives go as far as possible'.

Perhaps some are inclined to think that the science of dietetics is one which belongs particularly to the modern world, but both Greek and Roman physicians wrote on this subject. Hippocrates, Xenocrates, Galen, and Celsus may be mentioned. Marquardt asserts<sup>54</sup> that in the time of the Empire the Roman menu was arranged partly according to the many dietetic theories of the physicians. There is little doubt that opinions expressed by them and by the

<sup>43</sup>See Meineke, 4.494.

<sup>44</sup>Ad Fam. 7.26.

<sup>45</sup>11.31.

<sup>46</sup>Petronius, Sat. 69-70.

<sup>47</sup>Caesar, B. C. 3.47-49.

<sup>48</sup>Suetonius, Jul. 68.

<sup>49</sup>De Agri Cultura 168.

<sup>50</sup>Das Privatleben der Römer, 313.

<sup>51</sup>1.8.

<sup>52</sup>13.31.

<sup>53</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.144.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 58.

Elder Pliny influenced the more frugal of the Romans in the arrangement of their menu, both in regard to the food which it contained and the order in which it was served. A closer study of the writings of the Roman physician Celsus convinces one of this fact. The purpose of the *gustus*, the first division of a formal Roman dinner, was to aid the digestion as well as to whet the appetite. Now Celsus<sup>55</sup> gives a list of the foods which are especially helpful to the digestion; among other things he mentions lettuce, beets, mallows, asparagus, oysters, sea-urchins, mussels, onions, and fowl. If one were to examine a few examples of the *gustus*, it could be seen at a glance that these are the very articles of food which are found in that part of the meal. Furthermore, the drinking at a Roman dinner was in perfect accord with the theories of the dieticians. *Mulsum*, a honied wine, was drunk during the *gustus*, and the heavier wines were reserved until later in the meal. This was for purposes of digestion. Celsus says that *mulsum* should be served early in the meal, and in Athenaeus<sup>56</sup> one reads that men who drink hard before eating do not have good digestion. Horace says<sup>57</sup> that it is a mistake to mix honey with strong Falernian, and that it is wise to drink mild *mulsum* at the beginning of the meal.

In his work on medicine Celsus gives rules for both the sick and the well. A *sanus homo*, he says<sup>58</sup>, should bind himself by no rules, has no need of a physician, and should observe variety only in his manner of life. Certainly the menu of a formal Roman dinner must have been varied enough to please even Celsus. In modern days we are still emphasizing the necessity for variety in the menu. A recent editorial in The Journal of the American Medical Association warns us to beware of the calorie, and of advertisements for cereals, or other foods, which make the boast that thirty-five cents worth of the advertised product will furnish three thousand calories a day. Regard for the calorie only, says the writer, is apt to lead to a one-sided regimen, and such standards of menu-making are objectionable.

However, while Celsus<sup>59</sup> advises variety in diet, he does not advocate a complex menu, for he says that the most advantageous diet for a man is a simple one. Multiplicity of tastes is injurious. Horace<sup>60</sup> likewise says that the menu should be simple. Two principles which the Romans believed should be followed in menu-making were variety and simplicity. The many menus which they have left us prove that they seldom neglected the former; while they often strayed from the straight and narrow path of simplicity, this wandering was not due to lack of knowledge.

Not only did the Romans believe in the wholesomeness of a vegetable diet in general, but they frequently mention specific vegetables to which were ascribed dietetic values. Lettuce in particular was considered very wholesome. Pliny<sup>61</sup> recommends it as a dish

particularly suited for summer because of its cooling and refreshing qualities. Indeed, he even goes so far as to say that once, when the Emperor Augustus was ill, his life was saved by his physician Musa, who allowed him to eat lettuce. This vegetable was considered soporific, and appetizing, and was thought to increase the blood. Martial mentions lettuce<sup>62</sup>, beets<sup>63</sup>, and mallows<sup>64</sup> as aids to digestion. Pliny says that onions<sup>65</sup> are good for the stomach, and that they act upon the spirits. Celsus<sup>66</sup> recommends many vegetables. He says that lettuce and snails are among the articles of diet quae stomacho aptissima sunt. Horace<sup>67</sup> as well as Celsus bears witness to the wholesomeness of mallows. Shellfish shared with vegetables and fruits a place among wholesome articles of diet. Pliny<sup>68</sup> says that oysters are refreshing to the stomach, and that they restore the appetite. Celsus<sup>69</sup> recommends oysters, mussels, snails, and sea-urchins. Diocles<sup>70</sup> says that the best of all shellfish as aperients are mussels, oysters, scallops, and snails.

Celsus<sup>71</sup> considers also the comparative food values of different articles of diet. He thinks legumes and grains which can be made into bread the most nourishing of all foods. Second to these, but still very nutritious, are domestic quadrupeds, large wild beasts, all sea-monsters, among them the whale, also honey and cheese.

Not only did the Romans have special dietetic theories for the well, but they believed also that the ill should give careful attention to their food. Diet and medicine go hand in hand, says Celsus<sup>72</sup>. A method of treatment that cures by diet sometimes applies medicine, and one which combats a disease<sup>73</sup> by medicine especially ought also to apply a rule of diet. He recommends that it is wise for those who are not healthy to take at the beginning of the meal the fruits which in his day were served at dessert. He says, however, that if one's digestion is good dessert does no harm.

In certain books of his Natural History, Pliny, quoting from Greek physicians, ascribes medicinal properties to many vegetables. Many diseases, he says, may be cured by onions<sup>74</sup>, and even more by cabbage<sup>75</sup>. To this common product of the garden Chrysippus devoted a whole volume. This is only the beginning of a long series of vegetables which possess healing qualities. Leeks are said to impart a wonderful clearness to the voice. The Emperor Nero<sup>76</sup> used leeks and oil on certain days for this purpose. At that time he abstained from all other food.

Pliny<sup>77</sup> recommends radishes, to be eaten raw with salt, for certain diseases of the diaphragm. Elecampane was considered very good for weak stomachs. According to Pliny<sup>78</sup>, Julia Augusta ate it every day.

<sup>52</sup>2.24.<sup>54</sup>2.24.<sup>55</sup>Serm. 2. 4.24 f.<sup>51</sup>1.<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*<sup>56</sup>Serm. 1.6.114 f.; 2.2.70 f.<sup>59</sup>19.127-128.<sup>62</sup>3.89; 11.52.<sup>63</sup>3.47.<sup>64</sup>3.89.<sup>65</sup>20.43.<sup>66</sup>2.24.<sup>67</sup>Bpod. 2.58.<sup>68</sup>32.64.<sup>69</sup>2.18.<sup>70</sup>In Athenaeus 3.32.

Compare Horace, Serm. 2.4.27 f.

<sup>71</sup>2.18.<sup>72</sup>5.1.<sup>73</sup>Celsus 1.2.<sup>74</sup>20.39 ff.<sup>75</sup>20.78.<sup>76</sup>Pliny, N. H. 19.108.

Compare Catullus 44.

<sup>77</sup>19.86.<sup>78</sup>19.91.

So firmly did the Romans believe in a system of dietetics that Pliny asserts<sup>79</sup> that food affected not only a man's health, but his disposition as well. Nor did they content themselves with merely giving rules for the sick and the well. They even took up the question of longevity. Pliny tells us<sup>80</sup> that many persons attained extreme old age by eating bread soaked in wine, and allowing themselves no other food. Pollio Romilius lived to be one hundred years old. When asked by Augustus how he had attained this venerable age, he replied, 'by honey within, by oil without'. Diet in relation to weight was also considered. Pliny says<sup>81</sup> that the person who wishes to gain flesh will do well to drink while taking food, but that those who wish to 'reduce' should refrain from drinking.

Many of our popular ideas or current theories in regard to dietetics seem to reecho those of the Romans, or to be derived therefrom. Celsus<sup>82</sup> says that there is more nourishment in bread than in any other food, especially in bread which is made from wheat. Pliny speaks<sup>83</sup> of the merits of *autopyrus* or whole wheat bread. Petronius<sup>84</sup> makes Habinnas, who has just returned from a funeral feast, say that he ate there coarse bread of unbolted flour and that he liked it better than the white, as it was so strengthening and was good for him as medicine. In connection with bread, however, one theory is found which is opposed to the popular belief of modern times, for Athenaeus<sup>85</sup> tells us that all bread is more wholesome when it is eaten hot than when it is eaten cold. We are rather surprised to read in Pliny<sup>86</sup> that water is more wholesome when it has been boiled, and that the best way to purify it is to boil it down to one-half. The Emperor Nero was aware of this fact; hence water for his daily draught was boiled, then cooled with snow. In contrast to the Emperor's luxuriousness there were even in those early days many medical men who asserted that the use of ice water, or its ancient equivalent, water cooled with snow, was highly injurious. An early edition of the Metchnikoff theory of sour milk and its beneficent qualities in prolonging man's life is probably found in Pliny<sup>87</sup>. It is said, he writes, that Zoroaster lived in the wilderness thirty years, on cheese which was prepared in such a way as to render him insensible to the advance of old age. Celsus thought<sup>88</sup>, as do many of our own day, that the use of highly seasoned foods was injurious, as people are tempted by their agreeable taste to eat too much and also because condiments are in themselves unwholesome. It must be said that, judging by our one Roman cook book, the Apicius, *De Re Coquinaria*, the Romans were addicted to the use of condiments, and so were in need of a word of warning as to their bad effects. Just a few which may be mentioned from this work on the culinary art are pepper, which was lavishly used, caraway, fennel, thyme, coriander, mint, rue,

parsley, mustard, anise, ginger, and last, but by no means least, assafoetida. There is found in Celsus<sup>89</sup> the current theory that sleep is promoted by lettuce and the poppy. To these soporific plants Celsus adds the mulberry and the onion. No reference is found to the carrot and its beautifying effect on the complexion, but in Pliny<sup>90</sup> one reads that onions impart a florid color. An apple a day keeps the doctor a way, says a modern proverb; in Athenaeus<sup>91</sup>, Diphilus recommends apples for digestion. In modern days Dr. Wiley tells us that the frying-pan is the greatest enemy of the American stomach. Celsus<sup>92</sup> recognized this enemy long ago, for, in his directions for those who are not strong, he says that it is better for them to eat meat which has been boiled or roasted. I have not been able to locate in Latin literature any admonition to 'Fletcherize', but perhaps such advice was superfluous in a world where even those who were most miserly of their time spent three hours at dinner.

We may conclude, then, that, although the Greeks and Romans did not speak in terms of calories, vitamins, proteids, fats, carbohydrates, they did have a system of dietetics, which was not merely a collection of old wives' tales, but was in many respects quite sound. It may be counted as one of the many things for which the modern world is far more indebted to the ancient than it realizes at the present day.

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### THE REX NEMORENSIS

Very meager are the sources of our knowledge concerning the King of the Grove, the Priest of Diana of the Underworld at her temple by Lake Nemi, near Aricia. Everything which can be deduced, conjectured, imagined, or hazarded about him will be found in J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Volumes 1-2, particularly in 1.1-6. Not much else of any value exists in modern literature. In the *Athenaeum*, No. 3024, page 477 (October 10, 1885), is a valuable article, by Lanciani, on the Shrine of Diana Nemorensis. Something about the results of the excavations at the site of the temple will be found in the *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archaeologica*, 1885, 149 ff. Something more is in J. G. Hartung, *Der Religion der Römer*, 2.211-217 (Erlangen, 1836). In Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1852), are two articles of some value: *Aricia*, I.2.1555; *Trivia*, VI.2.2147<sup>1</sup>. Valuable also is what is said of Diana's Festival in L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, 1.278 ff. (Berlin, 1886). See, finally, W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, s. v. Diana, 1.1002-1011 (Leipzig, 1884). It should be noted, however, that the investigation on which this article is based terminated in July, 1914; something may have appeared since.

<sup>79</sup>2.111.

<sup>80</sup>2.18.

<sup>81</sup>3.39-40.

<sup>82</sup>11.242.

<sup>83</sup>2.114.

<sup>84</sup>2.138.

Compare Athenaeus 3.95.

<sup>85</sup>1.2.

<sup>86</sup>23.41.

<sup>87</sup>3.83.

<sup>88</sup>2.32.

<sup>89</sup>20.42.

<sup>90</sup>13.20.

<sup>91</sup>2.2.

<sup>1</sup>The article *Aricia*, by Huelsen, in Wissowa's revision of Pauly, I.2.822-823, adds nothing of importance (Stuttgart, 1896).